

Message Text

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IO-13 /090 W
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R 211825Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4327
INFO SECDEF WASHDC
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MADRID 04333

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SOPN, MARR, NATO, SP
SUBJECT: SPAIN AND NATO: THE DITCHLEY PARK CONFERENCE

REF: MADRID 2202 (DTG 011417Z MAR 78)

1. SUMMARY: THE APRIL 14-16 CONFERENCE ON "SPAIN, NATO,
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AND WESTERN DEFENSE" AT DITCHLEY PARK, ENGLAND SUCCEEDED
IN BRINGING TOGETHER UNDER PRIVATE AUSPICES REPRESENTATIVES
OF THREE OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN SPAIN, OTHER
DISTINGUISHED EUROPEANS, AND AMERICANS FOR A DIALOGUE WHICH
WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT TO ARRANGE IN SPAIN AT THE
PRESENT TIME. THREE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOCIALIST
PSOE, THE PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION FORCE IN SPAIN AND THE ONLY

CONTINGENT AT THE CONFERENCE OPPOSED TO SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO, WERE EXPOSED NOT ONLY TO THE PRO-NATO ARGUMENTS OF OTHER SPANISH POLITICIANS BUT ALSO TO EXPERTS FROM NATO-MEMBER COUNTRIES. THE CONFERENCE WAS A MAJOR MEDIA EVENT IN SPAIN. ON THE WHOLE THE COVERAGE WAS OBJECTIVE, A NOTABLE EXCEPTION BEING ONE MAJOR MADRID DAILY ("EL PAIS") WHICH MAINTAINS A CONSISTENT ANTI-NATO LINE AND WHICH TRIED TO RAISE SUSPICIONS ABOUT THE CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. SPONSORED BY THE INSTITUTE FOR CONFLICT AND POLICY STUDIES, OF WASHINGTON, THE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AND THE NATIONAL STRATEGY INFORMATION CENTER OF NEW YORK, THE CONFERENCE ON "SPAIN, NATO AND WESTERN DEFENSE" DESCRIBED IN REFTEL TOOK PLACE AT DITCHLEY PARK, ENGLAND, APRIL 14-16, ACCOMPANIED BY CONSIDERABLE FANFARE IN THE SPANISH PRESS, IF NOWHERE ELSE. ATTENDANCE INCLUDED GEN. HAIG (VERY BRIEFLY), AIR VICE MARSHALL MENAUL, FORMER AMBASSADORS HILLENBRAND, STRAUZ-HUPE, DUKE, RIVERO, AND THEBERGE (CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN), AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THREE MAJOR SPANISH NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES (UCD AND AP - PRO; PSOE - AGAINST), AND OF THE CATALAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY. AN ADMIRAL ON INACTIVE STATUS ATTENDED AS AN INFORMAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE. (FULL LIST POUCHED TO EUR/WE AND USNATO).
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3. IN STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS BEFORE THE MEETINGS BEGAN, MAJOR SPANISH PARTICIPANTS HAD ALREADY PUT THEIR POSITIONS ON THE RECORD:

-- IGNACIO CAMUNAS, UCD (GOVERNMENT PARTY) DEPUTY FOR MADRID AND PRESIDENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE LOWER HOUSE: "IT IS PREMATURE TO HEAT UP THE DEBATE WHEN THERE IS NO PRESSING NEED TO RESOLVE THE QUESTION...IT IS TIME THAT WE HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY AND THIS MUST CONFORM WITH OUR NATURAL ALLIES...THERE IS NO OFFICIAL UCD PARTY POSITION ON ENTRY INTO NATO, BUT THERE IS A NOTABLE INTERNAL DEBATE, WHICH WILL BEAR FRUIT IN OUR COMING PARTY CONGRESS."

-- ANTON CANELLAS, CATALAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC DEPUTY FROM BARCELONA: "ENTRY INTO NATO CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM AN OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY OF A CLEAR EUROPEAN VOCATION...THERE IS MORE FREEDOM WITHIN NATO THAN IN ANOTHER BILATERAL TREATY WITH THE U.S....THIS CONFERENCE...WILL DOUBTLESS HELP US TO TAKE A MORE SERIOUS AND WELL-INFORMED POSITION ON THE QUESTION."

-- LUIS YANEZ, SOCIALIST (PSOE) DEPUTY AND SECRETARY FOR
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: "THERE IS TODAY A CLEAR PRESSURE
BY THE AMERICAN ESTABLISHMENT TO OBTAIN SPANISH MEMBERSHIP
IN THE ATLANTIC BLOC...PSOE POLICY IS TO LISTEN TO ALL
PROPOSALS AND CONSIDER ALL POSITIONS, BUT ALSO TO MAKE
OUR VOICE HEARD...WE BELIEVE THERE IS NO PRESSING DEFENSIVE
NEED, NO IMMINENT DANGER WHICH THREATENS OUR COUNTRY...IF
THE DECISION HAS TO BE TAKEN BY A WELL-QUALIFIED MAJORITY
IN THE PARLIAMENT OR BY A REFERENDUM OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY,

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 MADRID 04333

I DEDUCE FROM THE STRENGTH OF SPANISH SOCIALISM THAT SPAIN
WILL NEVER ENTER NATO...LET NO ONE BE DECEIVED; ENTERING
NATO IS A CESSION OF SOVEREIGNTY."

-- MANUEL FRAGA, ALIANZA POPULAR SECRETARY GENERAL, DEPUTY FOR MADRID, FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER AND AMBASSADOR TO THE U.K.: "DISARMED NEUTRALITY IS TOTALLY IMPOSSIBLE TODAY...
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THE DECISION IS INDICATED...BY THE CLEARLY WESTERN AND ATLANTIC INTERESTS OF OUR COUNTRY...SPAIN MUST BE IN NATO BECAUSE SHE CANNOT REMAIN ALONE...THE IDEA OF THIS CONFERENCE IS A GOOD ONE...BEFORE AN INTERNAL PUBLIC DEBATE OR BEFORE A POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL DEBATE IN BRUSSELS, THIS TYPE OF MEETING CAN BE VERY USEFUL...WE HAVE NOT YET TAKEN ANY POSITION ON THE SOCIALIST PROPOSAL TO HOLD A REFERENDUM, BUT WE COULD ACCEPT IT IF WE SEE THAT IT WOULD IN EFFECT BE THE NECESSARY CLARIFYING ELEMENT."

4. FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA GAVE HIS TACIT BLESSING TO THE CONFERENCE IN A PRESS CONFERENCE APRIL 13, SAYING, "ANYTHING WHICH HELPS TO ADD FACTS AND INFORMATION ON THE NATO QUESTION, BE IT INSIDE OR OUTSIDE SPAIN, HAS AN EMINENTLY POSITIVE CHARACTER."

5. PROF. WILLIAM SALISBURY, CONFERENCE DIRECTOR, TOLD US THE SESSIONS WENT VERY WELL, WITH AN OPEN INTERCHANGE AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS. NO MAJOR CHANGES OF OPINION TOOK PLACE, BUT THERE WAS A LIVELY DIALOGUE AND THE SPANISH PARTICIPANTS GENERALLY EXPRESSED TO HIM THEIR SATISFACTION WITH THE CONFERENCE. THEY SAID AS MUCH TALKING TO THE SPANISH PRESS UPON THEIR RETURN:

-- GREGORIO LOPEZ BRAVO (UCD): "WE ALL CAME AWAY ENRICHED IN OUR POINTS OF VIEW."

-- YANEZ: "THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION IS THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT POLITICAL AND TECHNICAL REPRESENTATIVES OF SPAIN AND NATO COUNTRIES MET...THERE WAS NOTHING REVEALING OR NEW."

-- CANELLAS: "VERY USEFUL FOR US TO FORMULATE OUR
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RESPECTIVE POSITIONS WHEN THE DEBATE BEGINS IN THE CONGRESS."

-- JAVIER RUPEREZ, UCD SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: "A CHANCE TO EXCHANGE POINTS OF VIEW AND RECEIVE INFORMATION ON A EUROPEAN AND TRANS-ATLANTIC LEVEL."

FROM THIS ASPECT IT WAS MOST USEFUL."

-- LUIS APOSTUA, UCD DEPUTY AND WELL-KNOWN COLUMNIST:
ESPECIALLY INTERESTING FOR THE FREEDOM OF DEBATE BY ALL THE
PARTICIPANTS, WHO DID NOT COME AS PARTY REPRESENTATIVES BUT
IN A STRICTLY PERSONAL CAPACITY.

6. PRESS COVERAGE OF THE CONFERENCE WAS HEAVY AND
GENERALLY OBJECTIVE. THE ONLY NOTABLE EXCEPTION WAS
INDEPENDENT LIBERAL-LEFT MADRID DAILY "EL PAIS", WHICH DID
ITS BEST TO RAISE SUSPICIONS ABOUT THE MEETINGS, BY
FOCUSING ON THEIR CLOSED-DOOR NATURE (THE RESULT OF THE
DESIRE BY THE ORGANIZERS THAT DISCUSSIONS BE FREE AND
UNHINDERED BY GRANDSTANDING FOR THE PRESS) AND ON ALLEGED
CIA CONNECTIONS OF SOME U.S. CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS.
SEVERAL OTHER PAPERS ALSO PICKED UP THE PSOE COMMENT THAT,
SINCE EUROCOMMUNISM WAS ONE OF THE TOPICS, THERE SHOULD
HAVE BEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY
IN ATTENDANCE. (PSOE REPRESENTATIVES GENERALLY LIKE TO
HAVE THEIR LEFT FLANK COVERED IN SUCH SITUATIONS.)
EDITORIAL COMMENTARY IN SEVERAL PAPERS IN THE WAKE OF
THE CONFERENCE CALLED FOR ANY SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS ON THIS
SUBJECT TO TAKE PLACE IN SPAIN AND IN PUBLIC.

7. CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN THEBERGE ARRIVED IN MADRID APRIL 19
FOR A SERIES OF PRIVATE MEETINGS WITH LOCAL POLITICAL AND
ACADEMIC FIGURES. PROF. SALISBURY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 MADRID 04333

PREPARATION OF THE CONFERENCE REPORT, THE NATURE OF WHICH
WE UNDERSTAND MAY DEPEND ON THE ABILITY OF THE ORGANIZERS
TO OBTAIN ADDITIONAL FINANCING. STABLER

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